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ABSTRACT

This report on drugs is based on mail responses received from urban and suburban high school students enrolled in college preparatory courses. The questions asked of these students included: (1) how do teenagers feel about the use of the various kinds of drugs by people their age? (2) what makes some teenagers use such drugs? (3) what keeps some teenagers from using them? and (4) should adults take steps to discourage the use of drugs by teenagers and/or older people? Main findings of the study include: (1) at least half of respondents show some degree of information about the effect of drugs and some ability to differentiate between different kinds of drugs; (2) almost no respondents reflected unqualified approval of drug use and drug users; (3) almost half the respondents indicated an acceptance of marijuana usage; and (4) educational campaigns designed to decrease drug use should be based on fact and evidence. (Author/KJ)

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# YOUTH REPORTERS DISCUSS "PROBLEM" DRUGS

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Office of Child Development

Children's Bureau 1970

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This report is the second in our series of studies of youth opinions, conducted as a part of our ongoing responsibility to investigate and report on matters which affect the welfare of children and youth.

The method used in this study is somewhat unconventional and is designed to elicit more information than the usual polls and surveys typically obtain about the reasoning behind a yes-or-no answer, the intensity and salience of opinions, and prevalent doubts, qualifications, or contradictions.

The opinions studied represent those of a limited but important segment of youth: urban and suburban high school students enrolled in college preparatory courses. These are college students of tomorrow, who will influence the climate and tone of the nation's campuses.

We recommend this report to all who are dealing with young people today, and hope that it may increase communication and cooperation between youth and the many others in our society who are interested in their well being.

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youth
reports no.2

# YOUTH REPORTERS DISCUSS "PROBLEM" DRUGS

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# METHOD OF STUDY

The panel was randomly selected from high school students in college preparatory courses, in metropolitan areas located in the four main regions of the United States, as defined by the Bureau of the Census (North, South, Midwest, West). Questions were sent in January 1970, to a panel of 415 students and replies were received from 205 in 55 schools, in 12 cities. (See Appendix B. for a more detailed note on response.)

This type of study differs from the usual poll or survey in that:

A. The free and discursive answers to open-end questions furnish opinion clues beyond the scope of the usual poll.

B. Since correspondents are asked to report the views that prevail among their friends and classmates, rather than merely their own opinions, they are regarded as providing opinion "coverage" rather than as a statistical sample.

C. Results are given in words rather than in numbers. Numerical proportions, where indicated, are validly derived from the data--all answers are strictly coded and tabulated. However, they are presented as approximations rather than as precise percentages, and the analysis is qualitative as well as quantitative. The purpose is to present the main patterning of opinions rather than an exact count.

D. Where mention of a point is volunteered rather than directly elicited, relatively small proportions may be significant and salience must be judged in comparison with other points volunteered.

Excerpts from the responses are quoted to illustrate or elaborate opinions summarized in the text, and do not necessarily reflect frequency of occurrence. Experience with analogous studies, and comparison with relevant polls or surveys, give grounds for considerable confidence that the opinion profile obtained with this method validly reflects the views of the groups represented--in this case, high school students enrolled in college preparatory courses in metropolitan areas.

## QUESTIONS SENT TO "YOUTH REPORTERS"

This report is based on mail responses from a panel of high school students to the following inquiry:

In answering our questions concerning the generation gap, about one Youth Reporter in ten mentioned drugs (marijuana or pot, speed, heroin, etc.). No one said much, since the subject was only incidental to the questions we were asking. But enough was said to make us ask for more.

Although a number of studies report how many people use the various kinds of drugs, we have little information on the opinions of young people--except for a few who are in trouble over drug use. Accordingly, we are not asking who or how many use the various kinds, but rather what you and your friends think about this much-discussed subject. These are some of the questions we have in mind:

> How do teenagers feel about the use of the various kinds of drugs by people their age? Do they feel differently about different kinds?
>
> What makes some teenagers use such drugs?
>
> What keeps some teenagers from using them?
>
> Should adults take steps to discourage the use of drugs by teenagers and/or older people? If so, which adults should take steps and what steps are advisable?

We shall be much interested in responses to these questions, and in any additional comments. (If you are one of those who mentioned drugs in answer to our last questions, please don't hesitate to repeat yourself. Just answer these questions as if you had not commented on the subject earlier.)

# YOUTH REPORTERS DISCUSS "PROBLEM" DRUGS

"As viewed by teenagers, perhaps the greatest failure on the part of the government in relation to drugs has been their failure to differentiate between the different types of drugs. When marijuana is classed along with heroin, it only serves to point out the absurd and prejudicial eye with which the government views the drug problem, and makes it very hard for anyone with even a modicum of intelligence to respect anything the government says in relation to drugs."

"Also, I feel drugs are one of the fakest things. Drug users call the world fake but they should look and see who is the fakest of all."

"I think more people (adults) need to know just how teenagers think of drugs and why they take them."

## What we need to know

Questions about drugs were sent to our Youth Reporters in order to learn about opinions and attitudes, rather than rates of drug use and abuse. Although information about prevalence of drug use and abuse among high school students leaves a good deal to be desired, a number of studies have been made, with methods far better adapted to this subject than is the method of Youth Reports. Less study has been made of an area more accessible to this method: what young people think concerning the use and the users of various kinds of narcotics, barbiturates, hallucinogenic and other psychoactive drugs,* why young people think some turn to drug use and others do not, what they think

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* For convenience, in this report "drug" or "drugs" used without qualifying adjectives will refer to drugs of this nature that are, or are generally believed to be, addictive and harmful, and the use of which is causing current public concern.

adults could or should do to discourage drug abuse, and their ideas about what would help to curb drug use among their peers.

That such use has increased and is a threat to the well-being of many young people seems established beyond doubt, even though findings about precise rates and trends differ widely.[1] That the usage and the threat are not confined to youth is also beyond question. Youth Reports, however, is designed to serve and to report about young people who are now in high school and, for the most part, will soon be in college. Accordingly, the inquiry focuses on them.

## Point and counterpoint

There is nothing monolithic or unanimous about teenagers or about any sub-group of them. There are, however, some points of strong consensus, some on which opinions divide rather evenly, and some on which the dissenting minority--though definitely a minority--is substantial. Whatever the proportions reported, each segment grouped as a unit embraces a wide array of special shadings and angles, and virtually no point made is without a "counter-point" voiced at least by one or two.

In a report such as this, which attempts to present an opinion profile rather than a precise count of answers to a highly structured questionnaire, it is difficult to convey the extent of variation that occurs even among those Youth Reporters who are in basic agreement on a given point. Verbatim quotations, offered in an effort to suggest this range, do not necessarily reflect the frequency of the views they illustrate.

## Information about drugs

Although no direct question was asked about information, the question about attitudes to different kinds of drugs yields some basis for assessing information. At least half of those responding show some degree of knowledge, ranging from detailed information concerning different drugs (about one in five), through implicit recognition of differences, to a general separation of marijuana ("pot") from all the others. More than one in four lump all drugs together as bad, and about as many do not say enough to permit rating of information. Not many of the Youth Reporters comment directly on how much young people know about drugs. An emphatic minority claims that they are very well informed indeed.

> "Kids now are very much informed. We are taught in school, on T.V., at home, in book and magazines, and by friends about drugs. We know what will do what and what won't...When somebody uses a drug, the odds are he knows exactly what he's doing."

---

1 Numbered notes are given in Appendix A.

"Drugs cover a large area and there are thousands of different kinds, so you can't generalize and say they're all good or all bad. I'm not against marijuana at all because I don't feel it's harmful. LSD can give good or bad experiences depending on the person and his surroundings. Speed (methedrine, dexadrine, benzadrine, etc.) and amphetemines are very dangerous and I'm down on them. I'm down on all 'cheap' trips and highs caused by taking large doses of household drugs or by inhaling products with a freon or methane base. They're extremely dangerous and unreliable. STP (a very potent halucinogen) is also dangerous due to its unreliability. I think use of psilocybin, peyote, and its derivative mescaline are okay and better than LSD because it comes from natural sources and has been used for centuries. To get back to LSD, LSD in its pure form can be a beautiful drug. Unfortunately, it is usually mixed with speed, strychnine, and other stuff which messes it up. Heroin, morphine, opium, and cocaine are fantastic, but unfortunately addicting, so I can't condone their use."

"When the hippie movement began there did not seem to be that much distinction between marijuana and LSD and the others. Most people considered drugs in one lump, all good, all evil, etc. Now marijuana is distinct and many will try it but not the others."

"All teenagers I know would refuse to compare the use of marijuana with heroine. The comparison is utterly ridiculous and so are the laws which class them together. Most of the pot used in the U.S. is not 'Hashish' but Bhang the weakest, cheapest kind of marijuana."

An equally emphatic minority insists that nobody really knows enough, and we need research to determine the "real facts."

"According to a recent poll taken at our school (degree of accuracy unknown), most people fell into a middle-of-the-road category. A small percentage felt it was totally harmless, decidedly beneficial, and should be legalized. An equally small percentage felt it was highly dangerous... Most who answered, though, admitted ignorance of the precise effects, mental, physical, temporary, or permanent, of the drug..."

"But last is the dreaded confusion caused by contradiction in the reports of what drugs cause. Some say it is nothing other say it kills, some say it help one see differently, others say it destroys the mind. There is no one to believe and no one to turn to gain the real truth since both sides are biased so extremely."

> "In my opinion, drugs can be hazardous because of little knowledge on the part of the user, because it (grass, for instance) is illegal and the user cannot find out whether it is dangerous or not."

Pot and addiction. Like the experts, these high school students return differing opinions on whether marijuana is or is not addictive.[2] About one in four expresses or implies the idea that it does lead to addiction, either physically or psychologically. They say, for example, that it "leads to easy access to other drugs", that it may cause one to feel he is "brave" enough to try something stronger, that "they like the high and want to get higher." Or they merely assume that pot itself is addicting. Presumably others, who lump all drugs together as bad, also regard marijuana as addictive.

> "They know that 'pot' is not habit-forming and heroin is. So they use 'pot' but not heroin and when they get tired of 'pot' some can restrain themselves from going to stronger drugs, but some can not."

> "Pot smoking may not be harmful, but who is going to stay on the bottom forever. They're going to climb up the ladder and need to be stopped before they get hooked on the top rung."

> "Some articles that I have read concerning drugs say, one drug usually leads to another with stronger effects. Some teenagers say just once or twice and I won't get hooked. This usually isn't true. Doctors say that once a kid tries drugs this hunger grows until the kid can't take it any longer so they try something else."

Less than half as many state that marijuana does not lead to use of other drugs or to addiction. "Kids are smart enough not to get hooked, usually..." However, more than half of those responding do not comment on this point.

> "The older generation swears to the fact that smoking (reefer or pot) will kill you also but is not true at all, to no extent whatsoever. I feel that person knows the risks he or she is taking using (drugs) but smoking pot is alright with me, not saying I would do it myself."

> "...my friends and I feel that the people who graduate from pot to heroin are the exception rather than the rule."

> "If it was known that marajuana was definitely harmful the use of it would decline sharply."

Acquaintance with drug users

Although the stated focus of the inquiry was not on prevalence of drug use, almost half of the responding Youth Reporters volunteer evidence that they have some degree of acquaintance with peers who use drugs occasionally or frequently. Only ten of those responding volunteer a statement that they don't know any users. One in seven comments that he thinks or knows there is drug use in his school, but only two explicitly say that it is absent from their schools.[3]

That interest is lively among a good many is suggested by the fact that more than one in five made special efforts to discuss the questions with friends or classmates before answering. A few did more systematic interviewing, reporting carefully on who was questioned and how the answers lined up: for example, "fourteen friends"; "a group of brilliant hippies"; "seventeen friends"; "five friends"; and, in one case, a questionnaire answered by 435 students.

While questions were deliberately addressed to attitudes rather than prevalence, it seems possible that panel members in "drug-free" schools were less likely to respond than those in schools where drug use is more prevalent. One conscientious Youth Reporter returned the questions with the statement that she could not answer them because she didn't know anything about drugs and didn't know anyone who used them. At the same time, it is possible that some others failed to respond because the questions hit too close to home.* Nevertheless, over one in four of those responding does say that friends or relatives are drug users, and over one in ten includes an account of a friend or relative whose use causes the writer concern, occasionally acute. The freedom and intensity of these accounts tempts a speculation that lack of exposure to drug use may be a more frequent reason than over-exposure for failure to respond.

> "Some friends whom I know use marijuana estimate the percentage of its usage at about 80% of the student body. Conversely, friends who have not taken drugs estimate the percentage at around 20%-25%. Obviously bias exists. Personally, I would estimate about 50-50 use. Of 50% who do use drugs about one third use them regularly; this is also based on a 'secret ballot' poll which I took in Health & Safety Class."

---

*Thus, it can be speculated that those least exposed and those most involved were the ones least likely to answer. If so, the relatively informed non-users and occasional users are probably somewhat over-represented in the 50 per cent response (a rate lower than in the preceding inquiry but still unusually high for mail interviews). The presumed over-representation is well suited to the purpose of this inquiry, provided the stated limitations of method and coverage are clearly recognized. (See page ii and Appendix B.)

"In a class discussion today everyone agreed that they knew at least one person who had experienced the use of a drug or was a habitual user."

"Through various surveys in my school, in the advanced classes about 25% had used drugs or want to do so, but in the average classes about 75% had or wanted to use drugs."

"Although the percent of kids who do use drugs is not unusually large, the percent of kids who would absolutely refuse to take drugs is very small."

"In some high schools in (our city), if you walk down the hallway you can smell the smoke of marihuana."

"I have talked with many teens about drugs. It was surprising to learn how many really did not know or care that much about drug problems."

About one in four of the Youth Reporters explicitly disclaims use by himself, while less than one in ten says or implies that he himself uses or has used marijuana, and only two indicate use of other drugs. A few point out that many young people try marijuana or a "harder" drug only once or twice, "just to see what it's like."

> "I do not know myself, many kids who are on drugs, or have used them. Those who I did know are off them now, and do not intend to go back to it. The majority of the students I have discussed this with are 'flat against' the use of the drugs by their own age group."
>
> "I personally have tried pot but I know I wouldn't want to continue on it. I think many experiment with drugs but the few who stay with it stay on it for a reason."

<u>Attitudes toward drugs and drug users</u>

With regard to drugs in general, the prevailing response is mixed. Almost half of those responding accept the use of pot, but by far the majority of these (four out of five) explicitly reject the use of harder drugs. On the other hand, almost two out of five report blanket disapproval of all drugs. Only two Youth Reporters reflect explicit approval of "hard drugs." For the most part, acceptance means acceptance of pot, with only about one in twenty indicating a tolerant attitude toward some

other drugs, usually amphetamines. LSD and heroin are characterized by a few as suicidal, while "pep pills", "grass" or pot and "hash" are more likely to be viewed as safe. Barbiturates, or "downs", though rarely mentioned, are classed with pep pills and pot.

> "They honestly feel that it is wrong (not many)."
>
> "Most don't have any qualms about tranquilizers, alcohol, contac, aspirin, muscle relaxers, etc. As for drugs which are not in the mainstream of adult life, opinions are varied--marijuana is fairly accepted, whereas pep pills, acid, and narcotics are controversial."
>
> "I believe that a majority of teenagers in my area accept the use of drugs, especially marijuana, as a type of recreation."
>
> "Taking downs gives you a pleasant state, but you become very tired and you're not able to do anything so there is no sense in it."
>
> "I am very much against drugs and I will try to do as much as I can to discourage it's use. Drugs is a menace to our country."

Attitudes toward drug users are hardly separable from attitudes toward drug use. The substantial minority who express blanket disapproval of drug use variously report that drug users are considered stupid, crazy, dangerous, disgusting, irresponsible. Some of them also say that drug users are looked down on and rejected socially. Those reporting such opinions tend to lump all drugs, including marijuana, in their discussion.

> "...the majority of teenagers today look down on drug users. They feel that drug users have no character or ambition, are not mature enough to handle the problems of life. They are a menace to society and a threat to those who are trying to make our world a better place in which to live."
>
> "Kids that shoot or use pills are not to be quite as accepted as other kids, even though they are really no different."
>
> "They wouldn't want to be around people that use drugs because they might try to influence them to using drugs."

> "We feel that if a person is stupid enough to use drugs, he is obviously unfit to propagate the human race, and therefore the sooner he removes himself from the genetic pool the better."

A larger proportion (more than three out of five) report mixed and more differentiated opinions. To some extent, opinions are mixed because use of hard drugs is rejected, while the use of pot is often accepted--sometimes with a comment that it is no worse than liquor and not as harmful as tobacco. To some extent, opinions are mixed because Youth Reporters describe varying attitudes among the individuals and groups with whom they are familiar.

> "Most of the students are against the use of hard drugs like cocaine and heroin because many of us have been the victims of muggings by other students who are hooked on these drugs and who need money to support their habit. Not a day goes by (but) that someone goes into the lavoratory and is robbed by students hooked on drugs. Most students are repelled at people who use hard drugs but they are not repelled by people who occasionally smoke marijuana."

> "Not many people would mind if someone smoked marijuana, but I think a person who used other drugs certainly wouldn't make many new friends except among other users."

> "Most of the guys we know use pot almost all the time. As far as the other types of drugs we don't stay with these people although we know a few addicts and a few who use speed and trip. We don't care if these people use the more powerful drugs. We feel that its pretty stupid to risk your life on speed or become an addict just to get a high."

> "Ironically, there is a tendency to degrade a pot-smoker and to feel sorry for the hard drug addict."

In contrast with undifferentiated disapproval, the varying shades of acceptance display above all a non-judgmental character, ranging from indifference to accepting without condoning. "It's their own life", "their own business", "a person has a right to wreck his own life if he wants to", it's his "privilage as a free American." Each one must find out for himself and do what seems right for him. Over one-fourth of those responding sound some variation of the laissez-faire theme.

"We believe we have witness, read, and felt enough about Drugs to be able to say whether we can use or not use them. We don't want others dying or becoming deform by using these drugs; But we think adults shouldn't look down on these people but try and help them...In general we say if a person want to take drugs let him and stop him only when it affect others. Its his thing."

"Many argue that the government has no right to tell you what you can smoke or inject into your body because you're only hurting yourself not anyone else."

"Friends who are known drug-users may remain friends of non-users without condemnation, but also without their actions being condoned."

About half as many say that drug users are accepted and even admired by some, who consider them brave, superior, "hip", "out of sight."

"...the use of drugs is admittedly a feather in one's cap in some cliques. In the midst of a group discussing their hallucinatory experiences, a non-user feels positively left out."

"In a sense there is a definite stigma against <u>not</u> taking drugs in some groups and subtle prestige in having the courage to take them in others."

A still smaller proportion (about one in ten) speak of compassion and pity for those who are "hooked." And somewhat fewer describe anxiety and concern on behalf of those who have succumbed: "...it's really sad--you can see tombstones in their eyes."

"Most of the kids know who is on them from school and most of them really feel sorry for these kids. You can watch the change in them and just see how much they go down. No matter what drug it is you still don't want your friends to be on them because one drug usually leads to another."

"It seems useless to ruin your life thru drugs, but what about the kids who don't even have a decent life to ruin?"

Thus, those who emphasize disapproval tend to lump all drugs together as bad, to report that drug users are disdained and rejected as socially inferior, and to criticize them in very harsh terms. Those who do not

disapprove very seldom express outright approval. They differentiate between different kinds of drugs, especially between pot and all other types; their views tend to be conscientiously non-judgmental; they differentiate also between the drug and the user, some apparently striving to accept the user even if they do not accept the drug. Although only one in twenty reports acceptance of drugs other than pot, more than three out of five maintain a differentiated and non-judgmental position toward drug users, at times mingled with compassion or with poignant anxiety and concern.

## Reasons for Use and Non-use of Drugs

Almost everyone who answered the questions at all had something to say about why some teenagers use drugs, and nine out of ten commented on reasons why some teenagers do not. Often, though by no means always, the reasons for use and non-use represent reverse sides of the same coin.

The reasons offered, like those commonly given by adults, are so familiar that it is difficult to know to what extent they represent stereotypes and to what extent they reflect experience and thought.[4] Probably, like many stereotypes, they contain both elements of reality and elements of myth. However, the salience of the points mentioned depends not only on the number of times they have been heard, but also on the response they have evoked. It is possible to judge by the relative frequency of mention which of the often-heard reasons have had more and which have had less impact, which ones are picked up as significant, and which are rejected or ignored.

Some of the reasons offered for drug use and also for non-use could be described as "positive", in the sense that they represent something desired or approved. Some could be classified as "negative", in the sense that they represent something to be avoided or resisted, or else a lack of some approved attribute. And a few can be called "neutral", in the sense that they merely describe a situation--"that's how it is"--without implying an impulse toward or away from. The reasons given for use and non-use, classified under these headings, are listed on the two following pages. Those reported with about equal frequency are grouped together without intervening spaces.

## Why Some Teenagers Use Drugs*

### "Negative" Reasons

Escape from personal problems and pressures

Lack of inner strength
Rebellion against "authority"

Escape from "the mess this world is in"
Inner psychological problems, including "identity" confusion
Escape from boredom, futility, emptiness

### "Positive" Reasons

Status--to gain or maintain it
Conformity--to do as others do
Curiosity, new experience

Excitement--"kicks and thrills"

Aesthetic rewards--to expand the senses

### "Neutral" Reasons

Substitute for alcohol

Exposure, availability

Ignorance about drug effects

Too much money

---

* Items under each heading are listed in order of frequency. Those reported with about equal frequency are grouped together without intervening spaces.

## Why Some Teenagers Do Not Use Drugs*

### "Negative" Reasons

Unspecified fears, awareness of dangers

Physical risks
Legal risks

Mental, intellectual risks

Fear of addiction
Effects on offspring

Fear of "bad trips"

Fear of heading into "life of crime"

### "Positive" Reasons

Ego strength, psychological independence

Status security, social independence
Family and social group influences

Moral or religious principles
Other and better sources of "kicks and thrills"

### "Neutral" Reasons

High cost of drugs

Lack of exposure, availability

---

* Items under each heading are listed in order of frequency. Those reported with about equal frequency are grouped together without intervening spaces.

The impulse to rebel appears about one-third as often as the impulse to escape. Teenagers who turn to drugs to satisfy or express rebellion are pictured as wanting to challenge the law, defy parents and other authorities, do the forbidden just because it is forbidden, retaliate against prim and prudish regulations, flout "the Establishment." That rebellion is cited so much less often than escape is striking at a time when protest by the young is so vocal and conspicuous.

> "Kids do things because they are forbidden, because they want to find why it is forbidden."
>
> "I think a penalty merely adds to the allurment because now, not only are kids playing with drugs as their step from puberty into adulthood but also, they are escaping from an established obstacle--the law."
>
> "Like sniffing glue it's just something to get the establishment upset."

About one in ten relates drug use to isolation and loneliness, psychological problems, failure of "identity", loss of direction.

> "True self-identity is being searched for eagerly by all people. They feel if they tear themselves apart piece by piece they may find the answer."
>
> "Hard drugs are probably used because of more serious reasons which stem from insecurity. We who do not use the drugs have a hard time putting ourselves in a position where we would use such drugs."
>
> "They should have more confidence in themselves and should not have to turn to drugs. I realize in some cases it is very hard, especially in the black people cases where self-confidence hardly exist, but they should also realize that another problem is not helping the others."

A different yet clearly related cluster of psychological problems ties with this one for last place: the problem of "nothing better to do", boring routine, a surrounding emptiness and meaninglessness.

> "There is <u>nothing</u> a young person sees as more frightening than a life of dullness and endless routine. I think this feeling comes from the routine we must bear in school."

"Negative" reasons for drug use

Leading all reasons, positive or negative, is the impulse to escape, mentioned by almost seven out of ten. Most often the impulse is attributed to individual or family problems: parents who "don't care enough", a stressful home situation, "generation gap", pressures to achieve in school and to prepare for later achievement, frustration, deprivation. Yet, about one in ten attributes the escape impulse to despair with the world and the social problems that seem unsolvable: "questions which adults either cannot or are afraid to answer...race, religion, economics, sex, etc."

> "Big hangups like parents who don't care whats what, or a loss of a serious steady, and becoming pregnant."
>
> "Some teens use drugs because they feel they need them to escape from big problems. 'Their families are all messed up' BIG DEAL. Personnally, I have been exposed to alcoholism, emotional illness, and other problems within my family."
>
> "Schools, now-a-days expect you to be like individuals but think like each other."
>
> "And make no mistake about it: there is a great deal of pressure brought on teenagers by our society. In school, the competition for marks (which makes education impossible; but that's a whole other essay) has led to ulcers and even suicide. It is no wonder that teenagers find need to escape it."
>
> "For many teenagers, drugs are the only way to escape the chaotic situation around them. They have no hope that it will improve, since it is the only life they have ever known. With drugs, they hope to be who they want, where they want, when they want it. Their world is their own--parents (generation gap), school (irrelevant), and reality have no part in it. Whether the trip is bad or good, they will almost for certain do it again, because anything is better than that around them."
>
> "In our society, a teenager is even put in the position where he is uncertain whether he will still be alive a year from now because the government may decide he is fit cannon fodder for the Vietnam war. Surrounded by war, hypocrisy, apathy, and a society which is just generally ugly, there should be no surprise among elders that young people turn to drugs."

A number of the specific negative reasons for drug use relate to the familiar terms "alienation" and "anomie." These somewhat vague concepts acquire concrete though fragmentary meaning in the bill of particulars offered by the Youth Reporters--most of whom profess to describe others rather than themselves. Yet, as in their earlier discussion of violent protest,* it seems clear that a good many of them sympathize with the feelings that are expressed in behavior they do not emulate and often do not approve.

"Positive" reasons for drug use

The great majority (about seven out of ten) mentioned both "positive" and "negative" reasons for drug use. However, those who mentioned only one kind were almost three times as likely to mention only "positive" reasons as to mention only "negative" reasons. Three positive reasons appear with almost equal frequency, each one being mentioned by about two out of five: (1) Status or image: desire to "look big", "be cool", "show one isn't chicken", prove one's sophistication or manhood, take a dare, be a leader, "really with it", "in the groove"; (2) Conformity, following the crowd, wanting to be accepted by the peer group, to achieve "this belongity"; (3) Curiosity: desire to find out for one's self, see what it's all about, have "the 'experience', which is something kids value highly."

> "In my opinion, people who use drugs are using them to get a place in society. Guys think they're tough and girls will idolize them. Girls think guys will like them because they're not chicken."
>
> "I've talked to some of the kids who smoke marijuana and they say 'It doesn't smell good, or taste good, but its the sharp thing to do.'"
>
> "Most teenagers that do use drugs use drugs because they feel that it is the only way they can be accepted. They start to hang around with people that use drugs and are therefore influenced by them."
>
> "...some teenagers do not like to be called names or tourmented by their friends because they don't use drugs."

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* Herzog, Elizabeth, Sudia, Cecelia E., Rosengard, Barbara and Harwood, Jane, Youth Reports No. 1--Teenagers Discuss the "Generation Gap". Office of Child Development, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970, 36 pp.

> "The teenagers that use drugs probably do so because they want to see what it is like. Just as a person eats a new fancy dish of food to see what it's like!"

Almost as frequent is the wish for "kicks and thrills", the fun of a juvenile prank, enjoyment of a form of recreation, the pleasure of being "high" or "stoned."

> "Most of teenagers really like drugs. They just live for the next time they can have drugs again. Not to many teenagers feel different about harder drugs. For these kinds of people it is just another thing."

> "More and more of my friends are now using acid. They don't use this as much to escape--it's just more exciting than the ordinary school day according to a boy in class with me who drops acid at least 3 times a week."

Less salient, but still reported by about one in five, is the wish to expand the mind and senses, to enhance creativity and insight, to explore a new world, revel in "the overwhelming sense impressions, the fantastic colors and designs and sounds"; "they see things differently, hear things differently"; they "want to be artistic and explore a new world." One Youth Reporter includes "religious ecstacy" and another "improved sex."

> "I know one who is trying to uncover his whole personality. He claims that pot brings out everything within him and lets him see all puzzling things clearly (sort of a self hypnosis). He went to his doctor to find out what drugs were not harmful because he was interested in trying a new drug. The doctor recommended mescaline."

> "Also, those who smoke pot do it under safe circumstances--the pot smokers I know never drive under its influence, don't walk around outside much, and only smoke with people they trust so that if something does happen, someone will be able to help. As a matter of fact, many kids just read poetry or philosophy when they are 'high', or listen to music."

"Negative" reasons for not using drugs

It has been noted that, in trying to explain why some teenagers use drugs, almost three times as many give only reasons we have classified as "positive" as give only reasons we have called "negative"--although

a substantial majority give both kinds. The picture is reversed in explaining why some teenagers do not use drugs. Almost three times as many give only "negative" as only "positive" reasons, although about half give both kinds. That is, they are more likely to stress what non-users want to avoid than what they want to seek or cultivate.

What they want to avoid above all is the harm that drugs can do to the user. That the various kinds of harm have been well publicized is evident in the fact that almost four-fifths of those responding mention one or more aspects of damage wrought by drugs. Moreover, while "negative" reasons given for using drugs are almost exclusively psychological and social, "negative" reasons for <u>not</u> using them are psychological, social, physical, legal, and moral.

Often the reference is general: "it would be stupid", "it could ruin your life." But equally often more specific dangers are noted: physical danger, detriment to physical health (about one in four); legal penalties, fear of getting caught (over one in five); mental impairment (almost one in five); drug dependence and addiction (one in eight); the possibility of bad trips, and the recurrence of bad trips (almost one in ten). There is also fear of possible effects that drug use might have on one's children, a concern mentioned by about one in ten--more often girls than boys, although in general sex differences are negligible in these responses. A very few (only six) report fear that drug use might lead to a life of crime and disgrace for self and family.

> "The facts show certain drugs could cause permanent damage to the mind and body. Not many people would want to ruin their life just for a few kicks."
>
> "For others, its knowing that the final and permanent results of drugs are unknown. From heroin on down to marijuana, no one really knows, or can ever predict, how each individual's mind and body will react to drugs. This is a pretty scary void to be faced with--it becomes a gamble, and you cannot know how much you have bet."
>
> "All of us have been at least mildly exposed to the use of drugs; some of us had been experimenting with drugs and still more of us have seen what a mess it has made of friends of ours."
>
> "Most are afraid of the legislative consequences, should they be caught with drug possession."

"The thing that stops the kids from using the drugs is usually the bad trips that they get. These trips are like night mares. You see bugs crawling all over you, walls ready to cave in, a stampeed of animals coming straight at you and many other things happen to."

"Positive" reasons for not using drugs

The leading positive reasons given for non-use of drugs by teenagers relate to strength and security, psychological and social. The non-users, say the Youth Reporters, are the ones who have inner strength, who want to face rather than escape their problems, who have goals and self discipline, want to maintain their own controls, are busy with things that seem to them interesting and worthwhile, and have "lots of good reasons for living." This kind of individual ego strength is suggested in various ways by about one in three.

"For the large part, however, most do not smoke because they do not have a need for it. They have found means to occupy their time. This is a strong defense."

"...but the biggest reason I believe is they like life like it is, and not a fantasy of life."

"...others lead very busy and happy lives, have friends, a good family environment, and a generally good life. These are the kids who don't take the drugs because they don't feel the need to escape from reality."

Associated with individual confidence and security is a sense of identity and autonomy. Teenagers who do not use drugs are described as not "needing to be different" and also "not needing to follow the crowd"; drugs are "too synthetic for their needs"--they "already know who they are." This kind of freedom from identity confusion and conformity need is mentioned by about one in four.

"I want to be me, not just another drug user."

"In my opinion, there is no right or wrong way to find solitude and peace with yourself. I have found artificial means unnecessary, but I know that there are many who have needed them as badly as I have needed my places of retreat."

A similar proportion give credit to family and social supports for resistance to drug use. Parental example, prohibitions, and disapproval are mentioned, as is "a good family life." But equal emphasis is put on the role of "good friends who aren't on drugs", both in freeing their associates from the pressures of conformity and availability and--where it becomes necessary--in trying to prevent their friends from "messing up their life." Both good families and good friends are seen, on the one hand, as protection from the pressures that drive young people to drugs and, on the other hand, as strong influences in resisting an impulse toward drug use.

> "It depends on whether you have parents who care for you. They won't let you waste your time and life."
>
> "Kids who have a good family life, are the better students, and have been taught about drugs don't tend to use them. The parents and their way of bringing up the kids is the biggest factor, although drug education certainly helps!!!"
>
> "All of us (report of 12 friends) have been offered drugs, or come into contact with someone who uses them. It is up to the individual's standards whether he uses them or not. In other words, it depends on your parents and friends, the people who influence you. It's true that the type of person a child becomes is a reflection of (his, or her) parents."
>
> "They don't have to take drugs to be accepted by others. They usually have better things to do with their time and do not need an escape from reality."

Moral or occasionally religious principles rank lower than psychological and social strengths as bulwarks against drug use. They are mentioned by about one in eight, but with little elaboration.

> "The major thing that keeps a person from turning to or continue using drugs is finding something worthwhile to do in life. Finding something around which he can build his life. Me and my friends believe that God is the answer. A person who <u>really</u> loves God will love his fellow man, will take on responsibility rather than shun it."

Equal mention and somewhat more gusto is devoted to a preference for "other kicks", which are described as far more "rewarding and REAL",

and as enhancing the individual rather than tearing him down. "Other forms of renewal" and "other ways of relieving pressure" include athletics, dramatic clubs, a hobby, enjoyment of music or painting, walks in the countryside, and constructive recreation in general.

> "I don't see why I should try to get 'high' on something that isn't real when I can get a better 'high' on something that is real. Like being at the beach or skiing at the mountains or just realizing that I have friends who like me for what I am and not for what I do."

> "There are many teenagers who are just as unhappy with our situation today. These people, including myself, have never tried drugs. We haven't felt that it was necessary, because we have been trying to do something about the things which we feel are wrong today. We have marched for peace, campaigned at conventions, negotiated on high school campuses, and hoped for results. When we get low, we stop for awhile and escape to an empty beach, a quiet park, a desert, or the mountains. We try to become lyrical after beating our heads against walls that may never budge."

"Neutral" reasons for use or non-use of drugs

Several reasons for drug use or non-use have been classified as "neutral", in the sense that they do not represent an impulse to move toward (i.e., cultivate or maintain) or to move away from (avoid) something. They are not necessarily neutral with regard to the feelings they evoke.

Substitute for alcohol. A reason for drug use (chiefly pot) cited by about one in eight is that it gives the gratifications often sought through alcohol. In discussing the preference for pot, some make additional comments--for example, that it is less harmful than alcohol, that it doesn't involve a hangover, that it is "cleaner", or "a lesser evil." These remarks are often accompanied by expressions of anger or disgust at adults who freely indulge in drinking or smoking and then have the effrontery to object to teenagers smoking so innocuous a substance as pot.

> "Don't sit in front of him with a cancer stick (cigarette) in your mouth and a glass of liquor in your hand and tell him not to smoke pot. Who is to say that your cigarette and liquor won't kill you before his pot will kill him."

"Many times the parents who drink have the kids who use drugs. They both have their 'fun' for the same reasons. Yet neither side can understand the other side."

"And when we do turn to our elders to ask what of drugs we find that a majority of the males stop off at the bar before heading home and that liquor is as highly used a drug as pot could ever be, there is no practice what you preach here, and are we to listen to lesson or follow the example laid down or go our own way."

"After all, ever since man has been alive, he has always looked for a euphoria. Adults use alcohol, we use drugs."

"One of the arguments for smoking pot is that it is no worse than drinking. In my opinion this is like saying that two wrongs make a right."

There is resentment, on the one hand, that drinking of alcoholic beverages is so widely accepted while pot is frowned on, and, on the other hand, that (at least in some communities) drugs are so much easier to obtain. One or two who say that teenagers smoke pot for "kicks and thrills" explain that young people who began drinking at age thirteen have become bored with alcohol. In talking about the legalization of marijuana (discussed below), the analogy of alcohol is invoked both by those who favor and those who oppose legalization.

> "To buy liquor you 1st need a draft card as proof and then must look 18. To get drugs all you have to do is walk up to anyone at school and ask them if they have any idea were to get them. Sooner than later you hit upon someone who readily sells you the drugs without any questions. Drugs are easier to get."

Availability. While almost one in ten attributes use of drugs to the ease of obtaining them and the propinquity and activity of "pushers", an equal proportion attribute non-use to lack of availability and absence of local drug activity. Both are saying the same thing: that use or non-use of drugs is influenced by the ease or difficulty of obtaining them.

The symmetry of the two reasons underlines the importance of local

variations. Use may be low or high in neighboring cities or towns, and may vary sharply among different schools in one locality. Several mention that nearness to a college campus increases availability.

> "It is a commonly held viewpoint that most students in high school, if given an hour or two, could produce at least one representative of the drug family. Although relatively unknown in my school two years ago, this growing problem is recognized and even studied in some classes."

> "All you have to do is walk out into the park...(that's where the hip people go) and you get all kinds of offers to buy a lid. I was even asked and I'm a really straight person. If you know the right people you could get some hashish or marijuana in about five minutes."

> "Another boy announced he had LSD for sale right in the middle of a classroom. In one class, when the teacher left the room half the class lit up joints. The atmosphere of most of the school is kind of free and easy. Marijuana is the most commonly used because most teenagers are scared of heroin."

The cost of drugs. Four Youth Reporters give as a reason for drug use that teenagers have too much money, too soon, and too easily. On the other hand, almost one in eight reports that the high cost of drugs is a deterrent to use by teenagers--an obstacle cited at least as often by those whose parents are in relatively high income brackets as by the others.

> "Also the price is very high for these drugs. For a small pill of acid which is the same size as a baby aspirin it costs $10.00 or more. For 2 oz. of pot cost $5. So the stronger the stuff the more money it costs."

Ignorance. About one in twenty attributes drug use to lack of knowledge about the harmful effects of drugs and about legal penalties for their use. That this is definitely a minority opinion is evident in the far more frequent statements that most teenagers do know about the dangers of drug use. That many are well aware of the physical, psychological, and legal hazards involved is also evident in the reasons given for non-use of drugs.

Counter-points

As the preceding paragraph indicates, most of the points made with considerable frequency are contradicted at least by a few. For example, one Youth Reporter in twenty denies that drug use is prompted by a desire to escape. Several others say explicitly that it is not caused by one of the other reasons most frequently cited: rebellion, conformity, social pressures, curiosity, desire to be tough. When a substantial minority of Youth Reporters dissents from the majority view, the relative emphasis is noted. However, even where the number of dissenters is negligible, it should not be assumed that the prevailing view represents unanimity.

> "I am sure that the old 'escape reality' bit is a lot of bolony."

> "(...many youth themselves are wondering <u>why</u> kids are using drugs. In many cases I suppose the user himself doesn't know why he's doing it.)"

## Efforts to Decrease Drug Use: Do's and Don'ts

In response to the direct question about efforts to decrease drug use, almost all of those responding offer suggestions. Over half explicitly state that adults should engage in such efforts. A good many more, by suggestions and caveats, imply that they should. However, almost one in five advises parents--and occasionally adults in general--not to attempt persuasion or influence because they will only stimulate resistance and rebellion in the young. Recommendations about parental efforts are sometimes linked with the reminder that the quality of parent-child relations or of home life in general will determine the extent to which a parent's words can affect his child's behavior.

> "The suggested question 'Should adults take steps to discourage the use of drugs...' really got me. Is the adult generation so scared of upsetting youth or doing anything they think will give the youth something else to be upset with about them? Of course steps to discourage drug use should be taken by anyone, any age who cares."

"...even if it is to no avail they should at least try."

"I believe this whole mess is really in the hands of the parents. If they would teach their children that mind-changing drugs are stupid--not exciting, or forbidden, or wrong, but just dumb--the whole problem would just disappear quietly."

"It is as important, if not more, as educating his child on sex. There might even come a time where this must come before the fatherly talk of birds and bees."

"I don't think adults should be too active in discouraging the use of drugs on a personal level. To some this is actually an incentive to try drugs in defiance. I think the best course for adults to follow is through public education, in schools and television. I know as far as smoking goes this public condemnation seems to be effective. For the first time I hear guys saying they don't smoke, or have quit, and they say it without being 'ashamed'."

The various suggestions offered fall roughly under three headings: (1) Legalization of drugs; (2) Education and persuasion; (3) Other programs and actions.

## Should Drugs be Legalized?

A little over half of the Youth Reporters make no reference to the possible legalization of various kinds of drugs. However, since the point was not specifically raised in the questions, it is noteworthy that almost half do report opinions either favoring or opposing legalization. Those who do so divide rather evenly, about half of them favoring legalization of pot and occasionally of hard drugs, and about as many opposing it.

The main reason for favoring legalization of pot is its alleged harmlessness, in itself or as compared with alcoholic beverages and cigarettes. "If pot is illegal, smoking should be too." It is occasionally noted that making pot illegal hasn't helped, that use of hard drugs would decrease because users would not be in contact with pushers and "people wouldn't be getting rich on it", that the "rebellion" incentive would be eliminated, that present laws are archaic, inconsistent, and "stupid", especially in their failure to differentiate between different kinds of drugs and in meting out sentences to people who "are sick and need help--not a jail cell." Occasionally they are also described as

ineffectual: "the overwhelming majority have not been caught by either authorities or parents."

It is often pointed out that favoring legalization does not mean favoring drug use: "rather it would be a step toward minimizing drug use if combined with other methods." And again, "It's like another prohibition all over again."

The chief reason for legalizing hard drugs also--a step specifically recommended by very few indeed--is that users need help, not punishment, that drugs would be safer because less contaminated, and that it would reduce crimes committed to get money for buying drugs.

> "Much discussion on the legalization of marijuana is heard these days, and the arguments supporting reform of drug laws by comparing marijuana and alcohol seem logical and fair and just. I just can't understand why we humans so enjoy the things that may be so harmful (alcohol, drugs, etc.) I guess since cars, alcohol and things like that that can be dangerous are legal, we have to have anything else that can damage added to the list."
>
> "As the laws stand now, a person who uses marijuana and does no harm to anyone can have the rights of his citizenship taken away if convicted of that felony, while a user of LSD who is damaging his unborn children, may have to be placed in an institution at great expense, or who may go beserk and shoot everyone in sight, can get off with six months in prison and a $500 fine--a ridiculous state of affairs."
>
> "Kids may use too much, or unpure, and cause them serious damage; whereas if it were possible to obtain it legally, the quality and safety would be increased. The laws against use of marijuana make the use of marijuana dangerous."
>
> "On the other hand restrictions should not be increased (i.e., such actions as 'Operation Whateveritwas' which closed off the border (virtually). In the midst of such a marijuana famine, some young people would then turn to other vastly more harmful drugs such as LSD, amphetamines, or opiates."
>
> "Many said that the argument that jail is supposed to 'rehabilitate' drug addicts is ridiculous."

"Any crackdown on illegal entry of drugs should start with the hard drugs and work down. Attempts to eliminate, say, marijuana, without first eliminating the more dangerous drugs drive the users of marijuana, to, say heroin."

Reasons against legalization include belief that use would increase as alcohol use did after prohibition; that marijuana may be an unrecognized health hazard "like cigarettes"; that young people should be protected for their own good; or that "massive deterrence" is the only way to stop use.

"The step they should take is to throw that garbage out so no kids can use it...It keeps them from using drugs by keeping it not legal and I hope they keep it that way or else this world will turn to <u>dirt</u>!"

"As such, drugs would be in greater demand and they wouldn't be smuggled in but brought in publicly by trains, planes and other methods of transport. Drug use would skyrocket and our 'civilized' country would become more synthetic and crippled then ever."

"A reason, that I feel strongly about, for not legalizing pot or any drugs, is that there are already two 'hang-ups' in this society (alcohol and cigarettes) and adding one would not help us any."

"Most people are sensible enough not to use drugs, but the small percentage who are not smart enough to realize the harm drugs cause should be protected."

Opinions are also divided with regard to present penalties. Those favoring legalization often inveigh against the harshness and inconsistency of present laws and imply that penalties for smoking pot should be reduced if retained at all, occasionally specifying that penalties for use of harder drug use should not be reduced. Those opposing legalization are more inclined to stiffen present penalties, especially for hard drugs, and to recommend stricter enforcement of present laws. On the other hand, a few (usually in favor of legalization) strongly advise against police crackdowns and over-harsh response to drug use.

"In some cases, a person who is caught using marijuana receives a longer jail sentence than someone who is convicted of manslaughter. Most teenagers think that it is unfair for a teenager to spend years of his life in prison, only for 'getting high' once in a while."

Consumer vs. supplier. Bitterness against drug profiteers emerges not only in connection with drug availability but also in connection with law enforcement. A small but vehement proportion (about one in fourteen) urges that there be more differentiation between those who use drugs and those who sell them. Let the police crack down on pushers, smugglers, the Mafia, they say--and one adds, on the big drug companies. A few recommend the death penalty for pushers--"because in an indirect way they are killing people."

> "Stricter for drug selling and no penalties at all for drug possession or addiction or anything like that--only for selling it. Why punish the sick??"
>
> "...I have read and seen on TV that American drug companies ship vast quantities (tens of millions) of various dangerous drugs into Mexico every year. They are then shipped back into America and sold on the 'black market'. These practices of drug companies should be terminated through stricter Federal laws on the shipping of drugs. It seems insane that we are fighting 'drug abuse' while our drug outlets are selling to anyone who puts the letters 'M.D.' after his name!"
>
> "...I believe the money factor involved that is available to 'pushers' is inviting. The 'drug flood' is great and already out of control. You could never track down all the 'users' and 'pushers.' However, if a stricter punishment would be placed on people who sell dope it might prove to be successful in the containment of drug abuse."

## Education and Persuasion

The fact that nearly half of those responding manifest some degree of acceptance of marijuana indicates that the suggestions reported below for discouraging drug use often--though by no means always--refer to hard drugs and not to pot. As reported above, opinions divide about the harmfulness of marijuana and, accordingly, about the need for efforts to discourage its use. However, nine out of ten offer comments concerning education and persuasion designed to diminish the use of deleterious drugs, even though a good many would exclude marijuana from that definition.

### What to do

Aside from recommendations concerning legalization of drugs, suggestions about what to do to diminish drug use tend to be far less specific and

emphatic than suggestions about how--or how not--to do it. For the most part they are vague and general and--with notable exceptions--appear to reflect second-hand rather than first-hand familiarity with current educational efforts. The most frequent suggestions concern school programs: schools should have courses, films, speakers. A very few suggest that school programs should include parents. Next after school activities come community programs or seminars, held outside the school or home.

> "The answer to the drug problem is not to harshen the penalties for the use, nor is it to legalize them. It is, however, to educate the public and particularly the teenagers who are most apt to use them."

> "I myself have been tempted. Why? Curiosity. Nobody shows us the terrible results that become of drug users. You hear of them, but never see them. I wish we could have a course in drugs, but no one will be bothered. We don't even have a course in sex education. I learned about sex the hard way...".

Somewhat less frequent are recommendations that public service spots and documentaries should be carried on television--a recommendation in contrast to the strong objections noted earlier to over-publicizing by the mass media. Still less frequent (about one in twenty) is the statement that publications such as pamphlets, magazine articles, posters, etc. are helpful. And least frequent of all (noted by only four Youth Reporters) is the idea that the Government should conduct educational campaigns to inform the public about the dangers of drugs.

> "...I also feel that the mass-media should institute an anti-narcotics advertising campaign similar to the one presently being sponsored by the American Cancer Society. An anti-narcotics message with the same gut impact as the 'cigarettes--they're killers' or 'like father, like son' 60-second spots would do immeasurable good."

> "Some good ways are to try and make teenagers and others realize that drug taking is really the worst thing in life. Publish literature and photos of real cases where people have used drugs."

Although the majority of these recommendations do not appear to be based on actual experience or evidence of the impact of the recommended measures, about one in eight refers to some educational effort that had a definite

deterrent effect on him or his associates. Among the references to educational efforts viewed as effective are several talks given by former addicts, one or two to television or radio programs, a journal article, a visit to a rehabilitation center, and--by analogy--favorable reference to the anti-smoking campaign. Favorable testimonials, though few, are twice as frequent as the occasional derogatory reference to similar activities. Films and books are easily forgotten, say the critics: "teachers talk but who listens?"; "those who could benefit most don't attend."

> "Because of these films, I think many students were discouraged from taking drugs or even associating with people that insist on taking them."
>
> "Adults who 'have the facts' and can be convincing are the ones who will succeed in discouraging drug use of this nature. Psychologist and drug expert Dr. Rice of N.Y.C. has come to our school for a day or so for two years. His seminars and lectures allow teenagers to make their decisions about drugs."
>
> "The students all know more about the effects of the drug than the instructor, and so he is not very credible. The reasons for not using drugs are usually ridiculous, for instance, it is immoral, can lead to Heroin addiction, etc. The films are worst of all. A person who could get grass from a dozen good friends sees a film of the bearded pusher jumping out from behind the hedge and saying, 'Pssst--Hey kid!!...' Drug education programs in their present form are ludicrous."

How to do it

While the opinions about what to do are largely on the vague and perfunctory side, comments about how to do it are not. There is real conviction in the warnings issued with frequency and force, most of them relating to three injunctions: (1) That advice and instruction must come from the right sources; (2) That the emphasis must be on facts, evidence, and experience; (3) That preaching and emotional exhortation must be avoided--by parents, by teachers, and by adults generally. Almost equal emphasis was given to (1) and (2), each of which was brought out by well over one in three of those responding.

The right source. There is strong consensus that information and education about drugs should come from the right person, and that otherwise they are likely to be futile or counter-productive. Opinions vary more widely about the identity and attributes of the "right person." Among

those noted are that the "right person" should be able to listen to, understand, and communicate with young people "on an adult level"; should "really care"; should be trusted, respected, and accepted by them. And by all means, he must "really know what he is talking about"--"a parent who is lecturing his child on the why-nots of drugs, should know more than the child."

With regard to age, opinions differ. A few describe the "right person" as a young adult, a college student, a teenager, a young professional, a "teenage idol", or at least "not too old". Yet the categories most often named imply that experience, information, attitude, and approach are more important criteria than age. Parents, teachers, counselors, are among those included, providing they meet the specifications noted. Physicians, social workers, town officials, policemen, are occasionally mentioned--although one or two advise "no cops." Former addicts are said by a few to have given testimony convincing to them and their friends. Although one Youth Reporter advises against them as spokesmen, when mentioned at all they are likely to be regarded as effective and informed persuaders.

> "Most adults don't have the right to discourage use of drugs. Only scientists and doctors know enough about drugs to comment on them."
>
> "...people should be addressed by people who are either the same age or only a few years older because teenagers still tend to believe in the generation gap, sure many of the teenagers will listen but what the adult speaker is saying would go in one ear and come out the other and the point of his or her speaking would only get to at the most nine or ten teenagers out of over one hundred."
>
> "There should be more groups like the one in (our city)--there probably are--where a local judge has a group of about 3 or 4 former dope addicts telling about their personal experiences with drugs."

Facts, evidence, experience. Perhaps the strongest emphasis of all is placed on the demand for facts. Don't preach, they say, don't exhort, don't get emotional, don't tell us what to do and what not to do. Just give us the facts and let us make up our own minds. (The same theme was sounded with equal vigor in discussions of the 'generation gap' by these same Youth Reporters.*) Whoever writes or talks to us about drugs, they say, should present facts and evidence, "nothing hits harder." Moral

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* Herzog et al, op cit.

precepts or warnings or orders are "ridiculous." Let us see, let us decide, let us make up our own minds, is the repeated message.

> "Present fact about hallucinogens, and discuss the uselessness of smoking grass. Anything else just nullifies whatever is accomplished. (I have heard about several very good drug education programs connected with the Methodist church. However, we have nothing like them in school.)"
>
> "Proof of harms of drugs should be shown to them. No just saying 'Don't take drugs' This is wrong. People must be shown why not to for it to be effective."
>
> "Young people are very concerned with the medical statistics on drugs. Some of them said that they would never try the harder drugs because of the proven statistics against them."
>
> "The best thing I can think of is to put more money into research so we'd have an abundance of conclusive proof that drugs are bad. Then, once the proof is highly publicized, I think drug abuse will go down (similar to cigarette smoking)."

Parents and peers

There is no doubting the intensity and sincerity of the admonition to focus on facts. However, two less frequent themes suggest that the facts wanted are not invariably "cold facts." One of these themes relates to parents and peers.

Although a substantial minority rule out parents as effective anti-drug-use educators, a more substantial minority rule them in, indirectly if not directly; and some who deny them a role in discouraging drug use award them an important place in promoting it--sometimes by example, more often by failing in their role as parents. If parents are good parents, it is sometimes said and sometimes implied, their children "will choose the 'no-drug' route for themselves." Parents should give love and understanding, should be aware of their children's associates, should teach them that drugs are "not exciting but just dumb", should set a good example, teach their children "how to face the world and its problems", and, if they do discuss drugs, should know what they are talking about. Parents should care, according to these Youth Reporters, but they should care quietly, in actions rather in words, and without

preaching or exhorting or displaying too much emotion. Moreove:, they should refrain from adding to the pressures under which young people labor, especially pressures to achieve, to excel, to "get ahead" today and tomorrow.

Furthermore, they should join with other adults in righting the social wrongs that make people seek escape through drugs.

In addition to the substantial minority who make such points in relation to what should be done, the reasons reported above for use and non-use of drugs by high school students reveal the extent to which home, family, and above all parents, are held to account for promoting or failing to prevent excessive use of drugs. Whether the charge is deserved is beside the present point. It is there, in the opinions of a good many teenagers.

> "Parents cannot be of too much help unless the son or daughter values his parents ideas in general and is never forced to go along with his parents ideas. Teenagers make this decision by themselves usually even if parents are adamant one way or the other."
>
> "Drugs are a problem which may never be solved completely. But perhaps, if the parents of the child show understanding, maybe the youth will not be so apt to escape. If his life is good, he will not need the artificial thrills. But this must come through an effort of the family and the youth himself. All the laws and ordinances in the world can't solve the whole problem. It must be within the people themselves."
>
> "Yes adults should take steps to discourage the use of drugs by teaching there children to be able to face the problems of the world realistically without hiding behind a high on drugs, this should also go for older people."
>
> "It is good that adults worry about this problem, but their method, as parents at least, is to say 'don't'. This is all wrong. As parents rarely substantiate their stands with evidence, the message is lost for all its value."

<u>Peers</u>. At least as much weight seems to be lodged in extra-family as in family influences--especially in the peer group. The importance attached to peer group influence is evident in reasons given for and against drug use by teenagers: the strong emphasis on status and conformity as reasons for use and on peer group influence and lack of exposure to peer

group pressures as reasons for non-use of drugs. The present responses do not give a basis for saying whether family or peer group influence would be seen as more potent, if that question were posed directly. They do seem to reflect a prevailing assumption that if either the family or the non-family group exercises a very strong force, it can prevail over the other one. Parents who create pressures or unhappiness are blamed for pushing the "escape button" and those who inculcate strong inner defenses are credited with helping their children to withstand or feel no urge toward drug use. There is somewhat less tendency to blame the peer group for the pressures it exerts. It is more likely to be viewed as an environmental fact of life, and a very important one.

> "Also, another fact which makes teenagers use drugs is the coaxing of their friends, it's the same way with sex. Monkey-see, monkey-do."

"Scare techniques"

The second less frequent theme relates to "scare techniques", and here the evidence is conflicting. A few who advocate presentation of facts urge that the presentation be "scary", and occasionally give examples of testimony or a film that was effective because it "scared the kids." There are references, already noted, to the efficacy of the campaign against cigarettes. There is also an impression among "drug educators" that the publicizing of frightening facts about LSD resulted in diminished use of it, at least temporarily. However, there is some fear that exaggeration of the dangers may boomerang and undercut other drug education efforts. The reasons given for not using drugs are, to a considerable extent, based on fear of the effects and consequences.

> "Our society should really try to scare kids from using drugs instead of being 'hush-hush' and pretending that the problem doesn't exist because it does."

> "The ex-addicts were there for questioning after the film. Much thought was aroused by it and I think it really did a good job of frightening people."

> "Sometimes fear can be a good thing and in the case of taking drugs fear is a very good thing."

> "All adults should do this and the best way is just to teach little kids (2 or 3rd grade) about drugs and show the worst possible effects to scare them stiff!"

Nevertheless, others object to obvious efforts at frightening people. Let the facts be given as facts, they seem to say, without blowing up the scare side. If the facts and the evidence show the results to be frightening, they will speak for themselves and we will respond as we see fit. But don't distort facts in order to scare us. Don't get emotional in trying to scare us. Let us scare ourselves, if the evidence justifies it.

> "Honest, non-prejudicial education with regard to drugs must be used. And that means <u>education</u>, not scare tactics. Of course, if you want to do more than scratch the surface, you must get to the root causes of the drug problem."

> "However, they should do it by telling us facts, not exaggerated stories. They shouldn't try to scare us into not using 'hard stuff' by giving examples of 'girls who went bad' or something like that. Given the scientific facts about the dangers of LSD and heroin, etc., most teens will be sufficiently deterred from using them."

## Other Programs and Actions

Some suggestions that involve deeds rather than words have already been noted in proposals for and against legalization of pot, and in relation to parents and peers as agents of persuasion and influence. A few suggestions, however, go beyond such general comments. One for example, proposes an "organization of concerned parents."

<u>Proposals for and by the peer group</u>. Several urge that teenagers should take active responsibility for doing their part to reduce drug use, though specific proposals are rare. One of these proposes a panel of teens to work for apprehension of pushers and users. Another suggests that an attempt on the part of youth should be made "to remove the status involved with drugs." Still another recommends that a separate agency be set up to enlist and direct the support of teenagers in anti-drug activities.

> "I think that only teenagers can help teenagers. I don't exactly know how they could do it but I think that is the answer to the problem of teenagers using drugs."

> "Perhaps this group could adapt the program used by students in Randolph, Massachusetts to stop smoking to halt drug use. The real key to the success of this program would hinge on the devotion and the commitment of the youth."

Therapeutic efforts. A few ask for additional counseling centers or clinics "something like Alcoholics Anonymous." Another recommends centers "like Daytop House", staffed by former addicts.

Antidotes. Two Youth Reporters say that religion can help to counteract drug abuse. Two others believe that increased emphasis on sports and recreational activities could help.

> "This may sound sort of far fetched but pushing sports in this country might help not only in drug abuse, but smoking, drinking, eating habits, etc. I think that the kind of highs you get on drugs would look pitiful to people if they could feel what it's like to have a healthy body."

Social reform. More frequent than any one of these therapeutic efforts and antidotes--although still reported by less than one in ten--is the view that the only way to eradicate drug abuse is to improve the society whose evils drive young people to drugs.

> "Try ending the war and using some money to help people instead of killing them. Then see how much of a drug problem you have."

> "An adult should try to line up an educational system. He should also try to eliminate the reasons that he creates for the use of drugs."

## Some Implications

A number of the opinions reflected by the Youth Reporters have clear bearing on efforts to discourage the use of drugs demonstrated or believed to have deleterious effects.

Implications relating to programs of education are inherent not only in the direct suggestions or warnings offered, but also in comments about why teenagers do or do not use drugs. Of all the reasons given, the kind that appears most amenable to influence is the group classified as "negative" reasons for not using drugs. It is difficult to change quickly and on a large scale family strengths and weaknesses, individual failings and discouragements, or broad social problems--all of which fall under three remaining categories (i.e., negative reasons for using drugs and positive reasons both for use and non-use).

On the other hand, "negative" reasons for not using drugs relate above all to the fear of possible consequences, based chiefly on available information; and educational campaigns (including school courses and community seminars) are designed to make information available. Both the reasons given for non-use and the explicit advice of the Youth Reporters indicate that efforts to make known the consequences of drug use are aimed in the right direction.

At the same time, the Youth Reporters warn emphatically that such efforts can succeed only if they observe a number of "Do's and Don'ts", outlined in the preceding sections. These make it clear that, in the eyes of our Youth Reporters and their associates, effective programs of education must be factual and credible, with a maximum of soundly based evidence and a minimum of emotional or moralistic exhortation. "Let the facts speak for themselves", they urge, "and let us make our own decisions about our own behavior." Effective programs, in other words, must respect both the intelligence and the much-prized autonomy of young people. Moreover, they insist, information must come from people accepted by and credible to their audience.

The Youth Reporters reflect keen resentment at being told not to use drugs by adults who do drink and smoke. One way to diminish this "generation gap" argument would be to class drugs with alcohol and tobacco, and discuss all three in terms of their various disadvantages. The "educator" could avoid attempts to put him on the defensive by recognizing at the outset that all are undesirable.

Emphasis on facts would obviously need to include recognition of differences between different kinds of drugs and their consequences, of the areas in which information is still less than solid, and the points on which experts disagree. Probably a wise "educator" will also give recognition to the existence of great unsolved problems such as war, racial discrimination, and poverty, that some young people see as elements contributing to drug use, as well as to general disaffection.

There is some indication of desire for participation by teenagers in programs designed to decrease the use of drugs. How that participation is to be achieved, however, they leave largely to the ingenuity of their elders.

That almost half volunteered comments concerning the legalization of drugs is evidence that this subject is an important component of youth attitudes. Resentment at laws they characterize as "stupid" and "archaic" is likely to complicate the response of many young people to programs for combatting drug use, especially since the more resentful tend also to be the more informed. Those who enforce the laws and those who frame them must reckon with the fact that a sizeable and perhaps increasing minority of young people are openly in favor of legalizing marijuana or reducing penalties for its use. These views are bound to affect their reactions to law enforcement and also to programs of education.

Despite their articulate opinions about legalization, only one in five mentioned fear of legal consequences as a reason for non-use of drugs. It seems likely that relatively few are clear about specific legal penalties. As long as these penalties exist, it might be well if more young people were informed about the possible legal consequences of being caught in possession or use of illegal drugs.

## Main Findings in Brief

At least half of those responding to questions about drugs show some degree of information about their effects and some ability to differentiate between different kinds, while about one-fourth lump them all together as bad. The others could not be rated reliably on information.

Almost none of the Youth Reporters reflects unqualified approval of drug use and drug users. The most frequent attitude is mixed, qualified, and above all non-judgmental, with emphasis on the right of each individual to run his own life. Reports of mixed attitudes result to some extent from differentiating between marijuana and other drugs, and to some extent from differences in attitude among different groups of local students.

Almost half report acceptance of marijuana, often with resentment against failure to differentiate it from hard drugs in the minds of the public and the eyes of the law.

Most of the Youth Reporters mention both "positive" reasons (something wanted or approved) and "negative" reasons (something to be avoided) for drug use or non-use. However, in frequency of mention, two negative reasons out-distance all others: the leading reason given for drug use is desire to escape from problems, pressures, or boredom; and the leading reason given for not using drugs is fear of their consequences--physical, mental, psychological, legal.

The three most frequent "positive" reasons for drug use are: desire to gain or maintain status; wish to do as others do; and curiosity. The three leading positive reasons for not using drugs are ego strength, social confidence, and family or peer influences.

While half of the Youth Reporters do not mention legalization, among those who do opinions divide rather evenly and are vigorous on both sides. Those who differentiate between different kinds of drugs are the ones most likely to advocate legalization of marijuana and to characterize present laws as "stupid", "archaic", and futile.

Among those who discuss present legal penalties, a few argue with intense feeling for much harsher punishment of drug dealers than of drug users.

Despite a few emphatic demurrers, educational campaigns designed to decrease drug use are generally recommended. But, Youth Reporters insist, they must be based on facts and evidence rather than on exhortation and emotional moralizing. Also, they must be conducted by people who (1) know what they are talking about and (2) are accepted by, credible to, and able to communicate with teenagers.

The emphasis on fear of adverse consequences as the leading deterrent to drug use suggests that efforts to communicate information about drugs through school courses and the public media can be useful and should be multiplied; but that, in order to be effective, they must meet the specifications forcefully urged by the Youth Reporters.

# APPENDIX A

## Notes

A number of recent studies and publications touch on points discussed by the Youth Reporters. We have included such references only when it seemed important to clarify a point in the present report. References are listed on page 42.

1. It is extremely difficult to get reports of the numbers of actual users of any of the drugs under discussion. Use varies by age group, sex, type of community, section of the country, racial or ethnic background, date of the study, and type of drug.

   Definitions of "use" also vary, sometimes including experimenters who tried something only once or twice, or sometimes restricting the definition to include only regular users.

   Blum reports that in 1967, 16% of the boys and 10% of the girls in a California highschool reported experimenting with marijuana. The following year, 31% of the boys and 28% of the girls in a middle-class California school had tried pot, but the proportions in a nearby working class school were lower: 13% of the boys and 7% of the girls. Marijuana was also considered to be much more "available" in the middle-class school.

   In 1969, a survey of the Montgomery County, Md. highschools (high income, suburban) finds that 18.7% of senior high and 4.9% of the junior high school students admitted using marijuana; 7.8% of the senior high school students had tried, or were using amphetamines; 5.8%, LSD; 7.2%, barbiturates; 1.9%, heroin.

   N.I.M.H. reports (conversation) that usage of all drugs is still increasing among high school students as measured by the fact that increasing numbers of entering college freshmen report that they are already using various drugs. There is no information available on patterns of usage or trends among the working class black or white students.

2. While there are diehards on both sides, differences among experts concerning marijuana are beginning to be resolved. As Nowlis (p. 125) points out, the major problem is the definition of addiction. She suggests the term "drug dependence" with a differentiation

made between physical dependence and psychological dependence.

A report by N.I.M.H. (p. 34-35) indicates that, if this is done, there is general agreement that marijuana does not produce physical dependence, but does produce psychological dependence. In this it differs from almost all other problem substances, since the amphetamines, barbiturates, opiates, tobacco, and alcohol all produce varying degrees of both physical and psychological dependence.

3. Studies agree that reports of how many "users" an individual knows cannot be used as a basis for estimating prevalence of use within a school. For instance, the Montgomery County study found of "senior high respondents, 48.17% feel that more than one of their closest friends /defined as the 20 people you know well/ use marijuana...This constitutes a dramatic overestimate of numbers of secondary students who, by self-report, claim (11.5%) to be using marijuana." (p. 8)

   There is the possibility that the self-reporting of use may be a dramatic under-reporting, but other evidence seems to convince this research group that the self-report is the more reliable estimate. "Users" are apparently highly visible, and any alert student is very likely to know someone. If the user culture changes to become less visible and/or the use of marijuana is accepted by the more "square" members of the community, then this pattern of recognition may change.

4. While curiosity, escape, status, rebellion, peer pressures, etc., are highlighted in the press and T.V. reports, investigators seem neither to have inquired of teenagers just why they use drugs nor to have investigated salience of the various reasons given. Writers weave the "reasons" into psychological or sociological frameworks, depending upon the persuasion of the writer.

   Fort (p. 194) says that reasons for use are "multi-factorial in origin, involving a complex interweaving of sociological and psychological factors, with perhaps an element of chance."

   Salisbury and Fertig report (p. 83 ff.) the following motives: (1) curiosity; (2) medicine; that is, to make them feel better about whatever it is that bothers them; (3) fun; (4) sensuality; (5) conforming to peer pressures; (6) as an escape from cultural pressures; (7) increased awareness, self-actualization.

References

Blum, Richard, and Associates, Students and Drugs. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1969.

Fort, Joel, The Pleasure Seekers. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, Co., Inc., 1969.

Joint Advisory Committee on Drug Abuse, Final Report, Volume I, Montgomery County Public Schools, Maryland, March 1970.

National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information, National Institute of Mental Health, Resource Book for Drug Abuse Education. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, October 1969.

Nowlis, Helen, Drugs on the College Campus. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1969.

Salisbury, Winfield W., and Fertig, Frances R., "The Myth of Alienation and Teen-Age Drug Use" in Resource Book for Drug Abuse Education, National Clearinghouse for Drug Abuse Education. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, October 1969.

# APPENDIX B

## Coverage and Method

Since it is not possible at the present stage to explore the opinions of all high school youth, it was decided as a first step to set up panels that would give coverage of high school students enrolled in college preparatory courses in metropolitan areas. Since more than two-thirds of the nation's youth are in metropolitan areas, and since those enrolled in college courses are the ones most likely to be articulate in writing, the limitations in coverage are acceptable. However, they must be clearly recognized. It is assumed that the very poor will be under-represented and that the opinions tapped will represent largely the middle-class population that comprises an important segment of the country and of tomorrow's college population.

The cooperating school systems were asked to select correspondents randomly from lists of students enrolled in college preparatory courses. Three metropolitan areas were selected to represent each of the four main regions of the United States as designated by the Bureau of the Census. Two metropolitan areas are the largest in the country. The remainder have populations between 200,000 and 1,000,000.

In each except the two largest cities, four schools were selected, three drawing from the central city and one from the suburbs. Of the central city schools, two were chosen to represent predominantly white students and one predominantly black. In the two largest cities the numbers were doubled. In each school, we requested that eight students be selected: four tenth grade and four eleventh grade (1968-69 school year), with two boys and two girls from each class. Only one school administration refused. We replaced this city with another from the same section of the country. The panels were established in the summer of 1969, and the second set of questions, analyzed here, was sent out in the first week of January 1970.

Responses were received from 49% of the 430 who were included on our list of Youth Reporters. (Fifteen letters were returned because of wrong address or no forwarding address). This is a somewhat lower rate of return than that for the previous set of questions on the Generation

Gap. The difference may be partly due to the timing of the inquiry, which for some students coincided with school examinations, although some other possibilities are raised in the report.

As is typical, the response rate is higher for girls than for boys. Of those responding, 55% are girls. One-third of the responses come from suburban schools, one-half from urban, predominantly white schools, and one-fifth from urban, predominantly black schools. This indicates a somewhat lower response rate from the urban, predominantly black schools, which may reflect a lack of interest in this type of survey, but seems more likely to be related to competing interests within the schools. Several of these schools are known to have been experiencing student strikes and unrest, and others may have been. By region, response is highest from the East and lowest from the West.

The Youth Reporters are asked to tell whether there is much discussion among their fellow students about the subject under inquiry, and what views they hear about it. They are free to give their own personal views or not, as they prefer. They are also free either to interview their peers or to report what they already know about relevant opinions. Often they give both their own views and those of other teenagers, pointing up areas of agreement and disagreement, and telling what kind of teenager is likely to hold the various views reported.

About one in five makes it clear that he did interview his peers, formally or informally, about the questions concerning drugs. Several say just how many they interviewed and how the opinions lined up. Others sent in replies from a class or club, and one reported on a questionnaire answered by 435 of his fellow students.

## Some limitations and advantages

Experience has shown that using panel members in this way--as informants rather than as respondents--has a number of advantages, providing the analysis takes the method into account. However, it means that the panel must be regarded as "coverage" rather than as a statistical sample. Results provide an opinion-attitude profile, indicating strong preponderance or fairly equal division of opinions rather than precise proportions on any point.

Judging from their response to the first two sets of questions, our correspondents, on the whole, are ready and often eager to engage in full and free discussion of subjects that interest them. Nevertheless, although the 49% response rate is high for a mail inquiry, it obviously involves selective factors. Some speculations about these in relation to questions concerning drugs have been offered in the body of the report. More general selective factors may become clearer by comparative analysis of non-response throughout successive inquiries. For the present

it can be assumed that, to a considerable extent, the more interested and articulate students are the ones most likely to respond. At the same time, a number of the responses received suggest by their brevity, penmanship, and spelling, that we are not tapping only the more intellectual and studious individuals. What we have is not representative of a cross-section of all high school students, but probably does reflect, with considerable accuracy, the more articulate and effective opinions of those who will constitute tomorrow's college population.

In any kind of interviewing, the question of frankness is always open. The responses give no perceptible indications of inhibition or slanting. At the same time, any interview situation (including the psychoanalyst's couch) is subject to defensiveness, "courtesy bias", "discourtesy bias", and inability of the respondent to know the "true" answer to some questions. Our strong impression is: (1) that the answers of our correspondents are probably at least as frank as face-to-face interviews would be; (2) that they are nevertheless subject to the limitations inherent in most interview material; (3) that the probable magnitude of inevitable distortions is not large enough to invalidate the opinion profiles reported here. This impression derives partly from previous experience with analogous studies and comparison of their findings with those of relevant polls and surveys. Such comparison has demonstrated the value of this kind of interview-by-mail as compared with yes-or-no answers to highly structured questionnaires, for exploring opinion patterns and currents. Among the aspects it can help to illuminate are: salience of the issue and of related points; level of information (areas of confusion or misunderstanding); the nature of opinions and attitudes (reasons explicit or implicit, intensity of feeling, and doubts, qualifications, or contradictions); stereotypes, current and emerging.

## Background of Youth Reporters

Fact Sheet information was received from 181 (89%) of the Youth Reporters responding to the second set of questions. The remainder either neglected or were unwilling to fill out and return the form. It seems probable that a full response would not change the picture substantially.

Ages range from 15 to 19, with the largest proportion (49%) 17 years old. With regard to religion, three-fifths describe themselves as Protestant, almost one-fourth as Catholic, and about one in twelve as Jewish. A small number claim other religious affiliations, and a few answer "None." Almost three-fifths of the total group indicate that they attend services regularly while the others divide rather evenly between those who attend "sometimes" and those who attend "never or hardly ever."

As would be expected from the basis of selection, almost all of the Youth Reporters indicate that they plan to attend college. Only one boy and seven girls indicate any other plan.

Father's employment ranges from unskilled to upper professional and managerial. Parents' education is equally diverse, ranging from less than eight school grades to graduate college degrees. Employment level was roughly classified by collapsing Hollingshead's* seven levels to three, representing "blue collar", "white collar" (clerical, sales, etc.), and upper middle business or professional occupations. About one-third of the Youth Reporters fell under each of these categories.

About half of the mothers of both males and females were not employed outside the home. The other half were employed in a variety of jobs at all levels. The largest proportion worked in clerical and sales positions, while the next largest proportion were professionals such as teachers, nurses, etc.

In the selection process, it was specified that one-fourth of the schools should have a predominantly Negro student body. However, some schools had been incorrectly designated as predominantly black. Consequently, only 17% of the Youth Reporters are Negro--a proportion less than intended although probably larger than the proportion of Negro students enrolled in urban college preparatory courses. 80% are white and 3% unknown. The representation of Negro girls, like that of white girls, is slightly higher than that of the boys.

Responses to the present questions show few marked differences by color, by sex, by degree of religious observance, or by social status of the family as indicated by the father's occupation. It will be of interest to discover whether future questions about other subjects reveal greater differences.

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* Hollingshead, August B., Two Factor Index of Social Position. Yale Station, New Haven, Conn., 1965, 11 pp.